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ships have become vivid. The purpose of association has become evident.

The nations of the world are about to consummate a brotherhood which will make it unnecessary in the future to maintain those crushing armaments which make the peoples suffer almost as much in peace as they suffered in war.

A LEAGUE OF FREE PEOPLES.

Non-official but Expert Advice Given to the Paris Conference.

Shortly after the Conference formally opened representatives of the leading American, British, and Italian Peace Societies began to arrive in Paris. They came to watch, to counsel when and where they could without giving offence, and to be prepared to report to their home societies as to the informal as well as formal history of the historic gathering. One of these reporters was the Editor of the *ADVOCATE*.

Of course they soon got in touch with eminent French co-laborers in the same cause and quite naturally the conviction was soon formed that acting together, as an international group, they might formulate a statement of ideals for the Conference to follow, one which, at the same time, would be shaped by knowledge of actual conditions in Europe and especially those to be found in Paris among the commissioners.

This decision as to the desirability of some such concerted statement undoubtedly was hastened by the statements made by the French Premier, M. Clemenceau, to the French advocates of a League of Nations, when they waited on him and, through Senator Bourgeois, expressed their desire that France should co-operate heartily in the effort to create a League. M. Clemenceau, in his reply, announced that it would be well, he thought, for advocates of such a course by France to first agree among themselves as to what they wanted the Conference to do.

On February 1 the Conference's committee on a Society of Nations, had presented to it formally the plan on which American, British, Italian, French and other advocates of a law-governed world had agreed, and which they commended to the Conference for study and adoption so far as is possible. This plan it will be noted is called

A League of Free Peoples.

It is to be organized for the following purposes, set forth in general outlines:

First, to submit all disputes among themselves to methods of peaceful settlement.

Second, to prevent or suppress jointly, by use of all the means at their disposal, any attempt by any State to disturb the peace of the world by acts of war.

Urge International Council.

Third, to establish an international court of justice, charged with the duty of deciding all justiciable disputes and insuring execution of its decisions by all appropriate international sanctions, juridic, economic, and, if necessary, military.

Fourth, to establish an international representative council providing for development of international law and taking common action in matters of general concern, and watching over the freedom of nations and the maintenance of international order. Considering itself invested with the moral guardianship of uncivilized races, the council will secure the execution and promote the general development of international covenants necessary for the protection and progress of these races. A permanent committee of conciliation shall handle all differences between the associated nations, acting as conciliator or mediator and referring differences either to

arbitration or to the court of justice. In the event of any State refusing to obey either the award of the arbitrator or the decision of the committee, application for appropriate sanctions will be proposed to the representative council and to the associated Powers and to the committee. These sanctions shall be obligatory in the case of violence or aggression.

Fifth, to limit and supervise the armaments of each nation and manufacture of all materials of war and munitions having regard to the requirements of the League.

Sixth, to renounce the making of secret treaties.

Seventh, to admit to the League on the basis of equal rights before the law all peoples able and willing to give effective guarantees of their loyal intentions to observe its covenants.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

... **Austria**, as distinct from Hungary and former portions of the dual empire that are now parts of new republics or that are separate political entities, has still to make the final choice as to whether it will be a republic by itself or join with the republicanized Germany of tomorrow, whatever precise form that nation may take after the national assembly meets at Weimar, Feb. 7. Opinion of late has been solidifying in favor of Austria's choosing the latter course, providing there is any sense of fair play on the part of the new German government, and a passing of the attitude toward Austrian Germans such as Prussia has stood for since the Bismarckian régime began. It is admitted that Poland as reconstructed will probably include Galicia, and that German Moravia and Bohemia are lost to the newly created Czecho-Slovak republic. Broadly speaking, there has been a very real people's victory in Austria, and a very much quieter and less violent overturning of the monarchy and the aristocracy than Germany has seen. All possibility of a restoration of the Hapsburgs or a return of the old union with the Magyars is past; and there is a natural drift toward union with the Teutons of Germany proper, especially now that it seems probable that Prussian influence is to be diminished and Berlin to be curbed in power. From the economic, intellectual and social standpoints, it also seems doubtful whether Vienna ever again will be the gay, rich city she has been for so long a time. Budapest and Prague will gain at Vienna's expense.

... **Impending "Prohibition" in the United States** is variously interpreted as to its international effects. It is argued that Europeans used to alcoholics will not migrate to the republic; to which statement it is retorted that persons thus minded, even if all other considerations were favorable, would not be missed, even with former standards of admission to the country in force. But they are not to be. Congress in response to a popular demand plans to shut the doors on drinkers and non-drinkers, Bolsheviki and capitalist, desirable and undesirable immigrants for some time to come—some argue for two years, some four years, and some for always. Yet another angle of the "prohibition" decree is shown by the claim that with the law enforced the United States will gain so much economically and morally through exclusion of the traffic that she will increase her already well established lead among the nations as a wealth-creating and conserving state, and

thus through the workings of a law of competition, force other nations speedily to similar ostracism of the industry and business. As the sum spent each year in the United States on fermented and brewed liquors amounts to \$2,000,000,000 and as the indirect costs of the traffic in terms of vice and immorality were to be measured only in terms of millions, it is obvious that there is something in this claim for an accession to the nation, under the coming law, in reserve economic power. Once prove this to either Great Britain or France and social tradition and personal habit may give way to evidence that touches the "pocket nerve".

. . . **German Colonial Possessions** in the Pacific will not be restored to Germany; but their ultimate control and ownership is on the laps of the dominating Powers at the Paris Peace Conference. American interest in the solution of this problem is partly based on future military and naval speculations as to Power in the Pacific, and also for commercial reasons; and opinion as to what should be done will be colored more or less by evidence now being made public as to the effect of German plottings in Hawaii, an American possession to be sure, but nevertheless typical in its availability for intrigue by German traders and emissaries of the German government who were in direct touch, as the evidence shows, with Potsdam and with the German secret corps in the United States. It is beyond dispute, for instance, that Hawaii was but an outpost for a thoroughly organized chain of conspirators against British authority in India, San Francisco being the continental centre of intrigue, but Seattle and Southern California ports also having their nests of German and Indian breeders of mischief.

. . . **Possible Trusteeship by the Society of Nations** of the control and welfare of the new smaller nations of Europe as well as of the former possessions of Germany in Africa and in the Islands of the Pacific, is recognized clearly in the attitude of Lithuania, which has presented the following appeal to President Wilson in Paris. It reads: "We are a small nation, but distinct in breed, language, and culture. Lithuania was one of those lesser states which were the cause of this war. We ask for a place at this conference, we do not ask a place at the table, but we do ask for standing room at the back, against the wall, while our fate is being determined. This we ask from a principle of self-determination. If there be any city, any port, or any part whatsoever of our native land, which, in dispute, might be the scene of war, we undertake that our people will deliver it over to the League of Nations to be held in trust, free to all men, until we, by our democratic government, and our generous attitude toward our neighbors, shall feel we are again ready and fit for another hearing."

. . . **Norway's** pecuniary interests have been varied during the war now closed, and she has both lost and gained by the strife, with the balance on the side of profit for the few, if not for the many. As the more democratic of the two nations of the peninsula, her sym-

pathies culturally have been with the Allies, though her upper commercial and landed classes have had their German leanings. In Nansen, the famous Arctic explorer, she has a citizen who has shown that a man of scientific training and world-ranging habits can be a citizen keenly alive to problems of state, temporary and permanent; and it is interesting to find him putting forth now, as president of the Norwegian Society of Free Nations, the following platform for a League of Nations, back of which Norway would stand: It reads:

"The ultimate goal of the league is the abolishment of war and the creation of institutions suited to maintain international co-operation.

"All civilized nations have a right to become members of the league and to participate in the foundation and deliberations leading to the foundation.

"All international conflicts must be solved by mediation, joint arbitration or judgment.

"National conscription must be abolished. The disarmament of all nations must take place subject to the control of the league.

"Every member of the league must give all other members equal rights of commerce and establish by law maximum working hours for the protection of the working classes.

"Special courts must be formed for litigation and for conflicts concerning interests of a grave nature.

"A world congress shall meet periodically with representatives from all nations of the league in proportion to the number of inhabitants and the nation's international importance. No nation must be represented by more than one-twelfth of the total number of representatives."

. . . **Roumania's** entrance into the war was on terms made with the Entente Powers, and they called for special action by Russia, which her Government basely failed to give. More than that Russia betrayed her new ally. The terms (in substance) of the compact, one of the many "secret" compacts of the war which are now forcing upon the world's public opinion such a revulsion in favor of open covenant diplomacy, have recently been made public in the Temps of Paris, and follow:

Article 1. France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia guarantee the territorial integrity of the kingdom of Rumania in the whole extent of its present frontiers.

Article 2. Rumania engages to declare war on and attack Austria-Hungary under the conditions stipulated, and also engages on the declaration of war to cease economic relations and commercial exchanges with the enemies of all the allies.

Article 3. France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia recognize Rumania's right to annex the territories in the Austria-Hungarian monarchy stipulated by article 4.

Article 4. This delimits these territories, and adds: "Rumania engages not to raise fortifications in front of Belgrade in a zone to be determined later, and only to keep a necessary force in this zone for police purposes. The royal Rumanian Government engages to indemnify the Serbians of Banat who, in abandoning their properties, wish to emigrate within two years from the conclusion of peace."

No Separate Peace.

Article 5. Engages Rumania and the quadruple entente not to make a separate peace. The quadruple entente engage that the aforesaid territories in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy shall be annexed by the treaty of peace.

Article 6. Rumania to enjoy the same rights as the allies in the peace preliminaries and in the discussion of questions submitted to the peace congress.

Article 7. The present treaty to be kept secret until the conclusion of a general peace.

. . . **Pan-American nations**, obeying a call from the governing board of the Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C., which includes the Secretary of State of the United States and ambassadors and ministers of the Latin-American countries stationed in Washington, will meet in convocation at a relatively early date to discuss the results of the war in Europe and the outcome of the Paris Peace Conference. Naturally whatever the Peace Congress may decide upon as to the representation of the Central and South American countries in a Society of Nations, and whatever may be urged or ordered at Paris with respect to all-American ratification of the Monroe Doctrine, would come before the convocation. It is intimated that the fifth Pan-American Congress also will discuss the advisability of eliminating all European sovereignty from South and Central America and from the West Indies; that it will arrange if possible better ways of settling inter-republic territorial disputes, and that it will foster increased Pan-American participation in world commerce. Presumably this congress will be held in Chile. Plans are also taking concrete form for summoning the second Pan-American Financial Congress and the third Pan-American Scientific Congress, both of which have been blocked by the war. These congresses when they meet will find that out of the war, with its indirect if not its direct consequences to the Americas, as a disrupter of civilization's normal ongoings, they have all come to see eye to eye as never before in the history of Pan-Americanism. Modes of accommodation between the Latin "cultur" of the Central and Southern republics and the Anglo-Celtic "cultur" of the United States will be far easier to find than formerly; and then the fact that they have a common foe in a defeated temporarily quiescent but still vigilant Teutonic commercial and banking enemy and in a rising propaganda of "Activist" class-conscious, bastard socialism led by Bolshevik adherents in cities as far apart as New York and Buenos Aires, and Chicago and Montevideo, cannot but lead to a closer rapprochement than has been possible at any prior sessions of these congresses.

. . . **The Provisional Polish Government** was accorded full recognition as a state by the United States, January 29, and thus was made formal and conclusive the pledge given by President Wilson as long ago as January 22, 1917, when he dared to inform the world that the Russian, German and Austrian claims to rule over Poles must be challenged and thwarted by the Allies and by the United States whenever the time came for them to deal with problems of European reconstruction. Often during the intervening two years the strife between classes, religions and nationalistic groups among the Poles has been so acute that it has seemed as if the United States never could make good its pledge. Of late the situation in inner Poland has been aggravated by famine, Jewish "pogroms" and the compulsion of having to fight not only German and Ukrainian forces, but also Bolshevik conspiracies and forcible invasion

by the Russian proletariat and its iconoclastic mobs. To the credit of Ignace Paderewski, who has had the backing of the more conservative Poles of the United States and France for several years, and also of General Pilsudski who had won the headship of the new state by his combined ability as a military leader and director of the political aspirations of the masses, the situation has begun to calm down. Special aid from the United States for Jews resident within the new state has been pledged in a most generous way, and the same Americans have been influential enough at Paris to induce the Inter-Allied Council of the Conference to send a special commission to Poland to investigate economic and political conditions and report back to the Conference.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Demobilization of the Army of the United States on February 10 had passed the 1,135,570 men mark.

Animal casualties in the American Expeditionary Force in Europe, up to Christmas, had numbered 42,311.

France has accepted the offer of the American Forestry Association to aid substantially in reforesting the districts devastated by war which formerly were covered with timber.

Mr. Asquith in an address in London, favoring the League of Nations, given February 1, argued for internationalization of the control and transport of munitions of war.

A pontifical medal bearing the figure of Pope Benedict, with the inscription "Benedictus XV, Principis Pacis Vicarius" has been struck to commemorate the coming of peace.

On February 1, General Pershing, rebutting charges freely circulated in the press during the previous week, cabled: "Crimes by American soldiers in Paris almost negligible, considering the large number of men in the vicinity."

The House of Representatives of the legislature of Kansas has passed a resolution severely censuring Secretary of War Baker for ordering the release of "conscientious objectors" from Fort Leavenworth.

British ships are to convey from China to designated ports in Europe, mainly German, 2,000 "enemy subjects" of the Central Powers who have been interned, and are to be deported by March 1.

Japan's Peace Commissioners worshipped at the Imperial ancestral shrine in the Emperor's Palace just before officially bidding the nation's ruler farewell and beginning their journey to Paris.

The University of Wisconsin has enrolled five conspicuous Norwegian youth, sons of eminent men, who are to study engineering. Formerly they would have gone to German universities for their technical training.

Governor Stephens, of California, in his message to the legislature, in which he calls for a revision of the State constitution, favors State use of returned soldiers and sailors on public works, especially on the already authorized system of State highways.

Secretary of War Baker, January 25, announced that he would welcome a most searching investigation of the War Department's administration since he assumed charge, and that the books are open for any sort of probe lawmakers may care to make.